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No 3



# SPIRIT OF THE CAMPAIGN.

NUMBER THREE.

## COMPARE THE DOCTRINES OF THE TWO PARTIES.

### Democratic.

The *Metropolitan Record* says:

Is it not about time for them to get it into their brain that it is a cardinal principle with the Democracy that THIS IS A WHITE MAN'S GOVERNMENT, and that, therefore, the nigger "governments" which Radicalism has set up in these Africanized States have all got to be upset, and that the upsetting will begin just as soon as we can get our Democratic President inaugurated, on the 4th of March, 1869. The Government of the United States *then* will be the Democratic Executive, the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives, and such of the Senators as have not been sent from the nigger monarchies aforesaid. That "Government" will be supported by the militia, which we expect to have under the command of Democratic Governors in all the great States. It will be a strong enough "Government" then to take care of the carpet-bag gentry and the military machinery by which they may have swindled themselves into the Rump Congress. As we have declared heretofore, so we repeat now, *the whole concern will have to leave, peaceably if they may, forcibly if we must.* If they choose the latter alternative, so be it. A speedy settlement of the whole matter will then follow; and, our word for it, it will be, as we have heretofore declared, short, sharp, and decisive.

The *Pine Bluff (Ark.) Vindicator*, a staunch supporter of Seymour and Blair, says:

"We are now in the building from which fluttered the first Confederate flag in Arkansas. The glory of that day has departed outwardly. Changes have been wrought, but the memory of that morning on which we unfurled the Stars and Bars, in honor of Arkansas defending her honor by seceding, will never die. Not even the ravages made by the despoiler's hand, can eradicate one glorious remembrance of the past. We live as of yore, and though chained and down-trodden by fanatics, know the time is fast approaching when right and justice will sing a requiem over the grave of Radical wrong. On the apex of our office still stands the shattered, storm-beaten shaft that buoyed up the flag of Liberty; and although that emblem ceases to be blessed by the sun of freedom, the staff remains to remind us of what we were, and we hope when it falls it will rest on the grave wherein lies every Radical in this country."

Speech of Frank P. Blair, candidate for Vice-President.

"There is but one way to restore the Government and the Constitution; and that is for the President-elect to declare these [Reconstruction] acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpations at the South, disperse the carpet-bag State Governments, allow the White people to reorganize their own governments, and elect Senators and Representatives. The House of Representatives will contain a majority of Democrats from the North, and they will admit the representatives elected by the White people of the South, and, with the co-operation of the President, it will not be difficult to compel the Senate to submit once more to the obligations of the Constitution. It will not be able to withstand the public judgment, if distinctly invoked and clearly expressed on this fundamental issue; and it is the sure way to avoid all future strife to put this issue plainly to the country."

### Republican.

From the Inaugural Address of Gov. HOLDEN, of North Carolina.

"We have assembled to-day to begin anew the work of self-government. The Congress of the United States, properly charged with the reconstruction of the lately insurgent States and their restoration to their constitutional relations to the General Government, has proceeded upon principles which have their basis in the rights of man; and it has so guarded those principles by enactments, and by amendments to the Constitution, as to render them safe for the future in the hands of the people of the respective States. We believe that the work thus begun for the whole people, by the whole people of the State, will be presented to fortunate results. We trust that the foundations which have been laid, and which we this day dedicate to liberty and union in North Carolina, will remain solid and firm for all time to come beneath the edifice of general prosperity and happiness to be erected thereon. We believe that a government 'of the people, by the people, and for the people,' will outlast any other form, and will confer greater benefits than any other on those who are destined to live under it; and we are, therefore, confident that all that is valuable and perfect in whatsoever is merely human in its character, must flow from the form we have adopted. The people of this State have formed and ratified a constitution of government, which contains all the great principles of liberty contended for in past ages by the wise and good of England and America. This Constitution has been considered and approved by the Congress of the United States as 'republican in form,' and with this approval North Carolina has been restored to her former position and privileges in the Union."

### GOVERNOR POWELL OF ARKANSAS.

The inaugural address of Gov. Powell of Arkansas is a brief document. In it Gov. Powell congratulates the people of the State on "the restoration of the bonds of relationship between the State and the Federal Government, which were so violently torn asunder seven years ago;" and to the State officers he says:

"Into your hands and mine is confided the duty of raising up the superstructure. If we would have this work well done we must labor together with harmony and unity—with energy and circumspection—paying due regard to the value of the time and the exigencies of the public service; and yet avoiding that superficial haste which might require others to pull down and rebuild that which we have erected at so much expense."

He concludes as follows:

"In conclusion, permit me to express the hope that out of the dark and gloomy past a brighter and better era is dawning upon our State and common country—one that will excite the admiration of the future historian, as he hands down to all succeeding ages the glorious record of a people who, through much suffering and great sacrifice, made every institution conform strictly to the great principles of liberty and justice—an era that shall be marked with a degree of intelligence, refinement and prosperity not equaled by any preceding age. That it may please Him who holds the destinies of nations in His hands to permit these expectations to be realized, is my humble supplication."

## Democratic.

We are paying \$40,000,000 a year in solid gold, as the cost of Democratic threats of repudiation. Our interest on the public debt is over \$120,000,000 in gold, when it need not exceed \$80,000,000. If our credit were undoubted, foreign capitalists would be glad to lend us money at four per cent., and thereby enable us to reduce our annual expenditure for interest by at least one-third. Is not this paying rather dearly for a Democratic luxury?

*The Mobile Tribune* has no doubts about the real issue of the impending contest. The principles of the late Rebellion are again to be fought for, first at the ballot-box, and if defeated there the discussion will be removed to the battle-field. Ballots first, to keep up appearances, and then bullets. *The Tribune* puts the case plainly:

"Friends—fellow-citizens of Mobile—comrades of the Queen City of the Gulf! let us make one more effort in behalf of our rights and our liberties. *If we are successful in the approaching contest we shall regain all that we lost in the 'Lost Cause.'* We shall be freemen once more. We shall have a country. We shall be able to reverse the iron rule which has been imposed upon us, and turning that iron into brands of fire, hurl them back on the heads of the flagitious wretches who have inflicted so many foul and flagrant wrongs on our bleeding country. Once more to the breach then—yet once more! and when the cloud shall have cleared away from the flaming field, our flag—the grand old Democratic flag—will be seen in all its glory, streaming like the thunder-cloud against the wind. Let us then rally once more around THE DEAR OLD FLAG, which we have followed so often to glory and to victory. Let us plant our standard in the midst of the field, and let us once more raise the war-cry—'he who doubts is damned; he who calls is a dastard!'"

"Secession is not dead. Secession is more alive than ever."—*Gov. Wise, of Va.*

At the ratification of Blair and Seymour, in Louisville, "portraits of Jeff. Davis, Lee, and Stonewall Jackson were suspended over the platform, and afterwards carried in a torchlight procession, and the stars and stripes were nowhere to be seen."

Raphael Semmes, the pirate, said in Mobile:

"I drew my sword against the old flag—the old flag which no longer represented these principles; it was not the flag of 1776 against which I drew my sword, but the flag which had become 'a flaunting lie,' so-called by prominent politicians of the North. But now, in spite of the efforts of those politicians, who endeavored to strangle the old Democratic party, by erecting in its stead a new Conservative party—a sort of conglomerated party—which was to comprise politicians of every shade of opinion, the grand old Democratic party has risen from the long slumber in which it has indulged, and now gives signs of new life and vitality; and I have come here to-night from the country to ratify and rejoice with you in the nomination of Seymour and Blair."

## Republican.

WHO SUPPORTS GRANT?—Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Meade, Farragut, and eight out of ten other loyal officers and men who fought under the Stars and Stripes during the Rebellion. Who supports Seymour?—Beauregard, Forrest, Hampton, Semmes, Toombs, and nine-tenths of the Rebels who fought under the Stars and Bars. This fact needs no comment.

Now, boys, three cheers for Grant and Colfax—hip!

Hurrah! Hurrah! the Boys in Blue  
Are coming in their might,  
In soldier columns, firm and true,  
To battle for the right;  
Brave boys are they, and well they know  
The country's chiefest want,  
The air resounds, where'er they go,  
With cheers for General Grant.

CHORUS.

Hurrah! Hurrah!  
Misdread the boys you can't,  
Forever true, they wore the Blue,  
And followed General Grant.  
Hurrah! Hurrah!  
Deceive them now you can't;  
The Boys in Blue, forever true,  
Will follow General Grant.  
Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!

Sensible views of ex-Gov. Orr (Democrat) of South Carolina. He predicts that colored suffrage can never be reversed, and goes for impartial suffrage with a property qualification. He says:

"With their plan of restoration carried into effect as it has been, the Republican party are now willing to leave the question of suffrage to the States themselves, their policy having placed the party in power, and it is vain to expect any restriction while they remain in power. It is equally idle to anticipate relief from the Democratic party. The Republicans will have the undisputed control of the Government until the 4th of March, 1869. Even though the Democrats succeed in the Fall elections, and secure their President, and the House of Representatives, there will still be a Republican majority of more than two-thirds in the Senate, and that majority must continue if the present party divisions are maintained, until the 4th of March, 1871. Assuming, therefore, that all the intermediate elections shall be favorable to the Democratic party, not until the 4th of March, 1871, can they obtain control of the Legislative and Executive Departments of the Government; and not until then, whatever may be their disposition, will they possess the strength necessary to limit this right of suffrage. When in power, however how are they to proceed in removing the evil—what remedy can they apply? Will they repeal the Reconstruction Acts of 1867? The Convention in New York has avowed the doctrine that the right of regulating suffrage belongs exclusively to the States. Upon that issue mainly, within the last six months, the party have achieved their successes over the Republicans in the North and West. In 1871 the Southern State Governments will have been in operation under these acts for three years, and, to a certain extent, society will have adapted itself to their laws and requirements. Should the Democrats under these circumstances, repeal the Reconstruction Acts, or should the Supreme Court pronounce them unconstitutional, and declare the State organizations then existing void, we shall be left in a condition of anarchy. If, on the other hand, they declare them to be simply provisional, what authority will then determine the question of suffrage? The theory of the

## Democratic.

The South, not the North, animated the Tammany Convention. The South, not the North, dictated the one essential feature of the platform. The author of its chief plank was none other than Wade Hampton. He says:

"When the resolution offered by the senator from Maryland, which declared that the rights of suffrage belonged to the political powers of a State, were being considered, I begged to add a few simple words. They agreed; and I took the resolutions, which you will find embodied in the platform, and added to them, 'And we declare that the reconstruction acts of Congress are unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void.' [Cheers.] *That was my plank in the platform.* I wanted nothing else; for when the great Democratic party had pledged themselves to that, when they had declared that these acts were 'unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void,' I was willing to wait in patience until that party would be triumphant, and apply the remedy in their own good time."

"What the Confederacy fought for would be won by the election of Seymour and Blair."—

*Gov. Vance, of North Carolina.*

Benj. H. Hill, of Atlanta, proposed a public burning of the reconstruction acts, indulging himself in the following strain:

"When liberty shall return, when the law shall be again respected, and good men shall be again our rulers, we must gather all the journals, and constitutions, and enactments of every character, of the conventions and assemblies thus forced upon us by force, and fraud, and usurpation, and, catching a fire from heaven, burn them up forever! And right here, my countrymen, I want you to understand that I am a candidate but for one office on earth. [Several voices: 'Name it, and you shall have it.'] When the glorious day shall come, and the free women, and the free men, and the proud youth of Georgia shall gather together to fire the miserable, hideous record of infamy, let the office be mine to kindle the flames. [Tremendous cheers, lasting several minutes.]"

\* Howell Cobb says:

"The Reconstruction acts are null and void, and shall not stand. \* \* The grinning skeletons which have been set up in our midst as legislators shall be ousted by FRANK BLAIR, whom our party has expressly appointed for that purpose." \* \*

Of Southern Republicans he says:

"Upon them there should be no mercy. They have dishonored themselves, and sought to dishonor you. Anathematize them. Drive them from the pale of social and political society."

John Forsyth, in the *Mobile Register*, says of the present Southern State governments:

"And here we may as well say that the people of the South do not intend to submit to that permanent rule, result as the Presidential election may. And they have only submitted to its indignities and insults so far because they have been waiting for the good sense and justice of the American people to relieve them from it, and restore them to their civil rights in the November elections."

\* Democratic Secretary of the Treasury, who stole all the Government funds on the breaking out of the war.

## Republican.

Democratic party will be that the States themselves must do so. Will the party in direct opposition to that theory, when they pass new Reconstruction Acts, ignore the Southern Constitutions of 1868, and by their act declare against the suffrage of the colored man, either universal or qualified? Will not such action upon their part be directly in antagonism to their professed principles, and their legislation be following directly in the footsteps of the Republicans whom they censure so gravely for regulating suffrage in the States? Should the Supreme Court declare the acts unconstitutional, and the State governments void, what government will be in existence? Can anarchy then be avoided without the intervention of Congress, and an invasion of the right of the State to regulate this question? Will the Constitutions of 1860, or 1865, be declared in force; and will the officers in office, when those Constitutions were superseded in 1868, be reinstated? If so, which set of officers? The terms of all of them will have expired. How will elections be ordered to fill vacancies? Upon neither of the foregoing theories can the right of suffrage in the States be regulated otherwise than by Congress. Does any reflecting man believe, for a moment, that Congress, in 1871, will remit these States to a territorial and chaotic condition, and require us to go through a new process of restoration? The Southern people need not delude themselves with false expectations. When the time arrives, if the Democratic party are in power, and the regulation of suffrage in the States is the recognized principle, depend upon it, the statu quo then existing will not be disturbed by Congress. What, then, are we to rely upon to relieve the body politic from the serious injury which is to result from the continuance of universal suffrage, with so much ignorance prevailing among the voters. In my judgment, the remedy is exclusively with ourselves. It will prove illusory to rely upon help emanating from any other source. Intelligence and wealth have heretofore, in all sections of the Union, sooner or later, controlled the votes of the ignorant and the dependent, and in time the same result will follow here. That the colored vote should have sustained the Republican party in the recent elections is not surprising, especially when it is remembered that the party was solidified by the organization of another party, whose principles, as avowed, looked to the repudiation, or at least to the abridgment of the elective franchise which Congress has granted to the colored man. When he was called upon to cast his ballot, and the issue presented was to sustain the party which had first proclaimed his freedom, enacted the Freedman's Bureau and Civil Rights bill, which had extended to him the right of universal suffrage, and was then struggling to maintain its existence against the party which, in Congress and elsewhere, had opposed all these privileges—when to vote in opposition to Republican ideas was to voluntarily renounce the elective franchise, so much esteemed as a public boon—it was not at all surprising that the ballot of the colored man was cast, nearly as a unit, against the advice and influence of the great majority of the white population of the Southern States. When this question of suffrage is settled, he will learn that his best friends and safest advisers are those with whom he has been associated in the various relations of life. Many of the colored people will soon begin to acquire property, and they will at once appreciate the identity of political and personal interest between themselves and the white race. This interest, combined with a disappearance of that prejudice and distrust which now exists, will, if kindly treated, induce them heartily to co-operate with the whites, in imposing such restrictions upon the right of suffrage as will secure society against tumult, disorder, and vicious legislation. To the white, and to the intelligent colored man alone, therefore, do I look for a limitation of the right of suffrage, and its establishment upon the basis of an educational or property qualification. Should they fail, however, they will control and direct the vote of the ignorant, and thus exert a conservative influence upon the welfare of the State.

### WHY THE BONDS CANNOT BE TAXED?

By three successive decisions of the United States Supreme Court, it has been decided that for a State, city, or other local authority to tax National bonds is inconsistent with those clauses of the Constitution which make the National Government, within the scope of its delegated

## Democratic.

The Meridian (Miss.) *Mercury* says:

"We must make the negro understand we are the men we were when we held him in abject bondage, and make him feel that when forbearance ceases to be a virtue, he has aroused a power that will control him or destroy him."

The Vicksburg *Times* adds:

"Objection is made down this way to the indorsement of the BLAIR letter, by a few timid people on the score of prudence, and yet it was this identical letter of FRANK BLAIR to his friend Colonel Brodhead that secured the Missouri here the nomination for Vice-President. We want just such ammunition as FRANK BLAIR uses."

General Freeman (rebel), one of the Mississippi delegates, has been describing the scenes at the Tammany Convention. We quote one sentence from his speech:

"President Seymour, like Palinurus, the pilot of the vessel of Æneas, attempted in vain to resist the rolling tide of the public voice of the toiling millions of America that bore his banner aloft despite of himself. He was carried away by the tempest of universal enthusiasm, and finally yielded to his destiny with all the dignity of a conquered hero, like that of our own loved General Lee to the victorious banners of the Union army."

Pike appeals to the young men of the South in this wise through the *Memphis Appeal*:

"Young men, it is for you to bring back these golden days. The South is our land; the North is a foreign and hostile realm. Stand at the altar of your country. Swear eternal hatred of its oppressors. Swear that the day shall come, if these oppressors shall continue, when the Susquehanna and Ohio shall be like rivers of fire, as they are now rivers of blood, between your native land and that of the Northern Huns, which no man shall attempt to cross, and live. \* \* \* We do not love, and will not pretend to love that Union, though we have agreed to obey the laws of the conqueror. If the old Union cannot be restored, we will hope to see the South independent before we die. And if Jacobinism is to become supreme in the North, we wish there could be an impassable wall or gulf of fire between it and our Southern States. The day will come when the South will be independent."

The *Memphis Avalanche* (rebel), speaking of the BLAIR letter, says:

"Had it appeared in these columns, 'they would have been stigmatized as revolutionists.' But, strange to say, it was the publication of the letter, from which we take the above extracts, that secured Mr. BLAIR his nomination for the Vice-Presidency. Thus it will be seen that the North is far ahead of the South. They are ripe for revolution."

The Charleston (Va.) *Chronicle* says:

"General BLAIR was an abolitionist and a war man; but those are dead issues, and, if he was sincere in his recent letter, he will answer our purpose."

General Thomas Ewing, Jr., declared at the Washington ratification:

"On the 8d of November next the American people will endeavor to restore those States to their constitutional rights. Should this by a possibility fail, the white population of those States may succeed in placing themselves in possession of their governments; otherwise, as sure as the Anglo-Saxon blood runs in the veins of Southern men, there will be an upheaval of civil war, and then, should Congress sustain the blacks, ashes will cover the ruins of the whole republic."

## Republican.

powers. This is a sufficient reason why the bonds cannot be taxed by any State or local authority.

In considering whether Congress has power to tax these bonds, it is proper to observe the effect. If the Government could sell an untaxed six per cent. bond at par, it can only sell such a bond after it has been made subject to one per cent. tax for one-sixth less than par, or at 83 1-3. If the interest untaxed would be six per cent., the interest taxed would be seven. On a square transaction, therefore, where Government and the lender both know in advance that the bond is to be taxed, the Government gains nothing and the lender loses nothing by the tax, but the former pays just enough additional interest to make it even. The quickest and surest way to lighten the burdens of taxation is to fund the bonds—i. e., borrow the money, at a lower rate of interest. Every exemption from taxation aids this result by reducing the rate of interest, and of course every taxpayer shares the benefit of exemption in exact proportion to his taxable liability. Could it be shared any more evenly? Of course not! Whatever argument avails to justify taxing the bonds one per cent. justifies taxing them wholly out of existence.

The taxation of bonds by Congress would, moreover, be a direct tax on property. Whether the tax is levied on principal or interest, this holds true. The National debt is not an industry or a business like banking and other taxable branches of business. It is property merely. The interest is nothing till it is due, and then it is property like the principal. Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to lay any direct tax whatever, except in proportion to numbers, and in a manner which would not be practicable, and has not been proposed, in relation to the National debt.

The so-called carpet-baggers are the legitimate successors to the "knapsackers" of the National armies who followed Grant and Sherman into the Southern States and redeemed them from rebellion and slavery to freedom and the Union. Gen. Scott, of South Carolina, is a gentleman, a scholar, who entered South Carolina as a general in the Union armies, was detained there after the war by his official duties as a Commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau, because popular among Union men and the freedmen (who form two-thirds of the people of South Carolina) by his uprightness and official integrity, and has finally made the State his home. Gov. Holden, of North Carolina, is the life-long friend of the Union cause and editor of the *Raleigh Standard*. He stood at his post and defied Jeff. Davis in the height of his power. He is a Southern man. Gov. Warmouth, of Louisiana, entered the South as colonel of a Missouri regiment, served with distinction, became a brigadier-general, settled in the State at the close of the war. Senator Harris and Senator Kellogg, of Louisiana, are Northern men of great talents and unimpeachable character. It is this very class of enterprising men, immigrating from the North, and bringing brains and capital with them, and many of whom, like Senator Harris, of Louisiana, have expended in the South considerable fortunes without any returns whatever, who must redeem the Southern States, if they are ever to be saved from poverty and ruin. While the fire-eating rebels denounce them as "carpet-baggers," just as they denounced our armies as vandals and mercenaries, the sensible and conservative portion of the Southern people welcome them as the very hope and salvation of the South.

**Democratic.**

General Thomas F. Bowie, a leading Democrat of Maryland, said in his Baltimore speech:

"If there be any class of men I would sooner tax it would be those men who furnished the means to carry on the most unholy, wicked, and cruel war in history. I would not tax them as property, but *I would because I can read upon the face of these bonds a contribution to an unholy and wicked purpose.*"

The Charleston *Mercury*, speaking of the Southern State governments, says:

"Being unconstitutional, all who attempt to enforce it, or to exercise power by its authority, are simply trespassers. A trespasser can be sued in an action for damages. *A trespasser may be justifiably killed.* With the President of the United States supporting the white population in treating the reconstruction laws as unconstitutional and void, what can their agents or instruments be practically but trespassers? If they use violence, what are they but traitors?"

Captain, a brother of Thomas Marshall, said at a recent Kentucky Democratic ratification, that—

"He was enthusiastic in support of Seymour, and gave his reasons therefor. Seymour was nominated as a War Democrat, for the reason that no other could win. He was called a War Democrat, *but he had never given any aid or support to the Government in prosecution of the war when it could be avoided.* In 1863, when the rebel troops were in Pennsylvania, and the Government called on Seymour, who was then Governor of New York, to furnish troops to expel them, he answered in the same manner, if not the same language, as the Governor of Kentucky, in 1861, viz.: *that he would not send them.* He did send them, however, *for the reason that he was unable to do otherwise.*"

The platform demands the restoration of civil government to the American people. How can civil government be restored, if a Democratic President is to use the army to overturn the Southern State governments, and annul the laws of Congress, as promised by Blair (dem.), Wise (reb.), Vance (reb.), Seymour (dem.), Cobb (reb.), Toombs (reb.), Semmes (reb.), Pike (reb.), Hill (reb.), Gen. Forrest (reb.), Gen. Preston (reb.), Gen. Buckner (reb.) and the Democratic Convention!

The platform demands the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens. If this meant what it says, it would mean that all the citizens in each State shall have a voice in deciding who shall or shall not vote. But this is universal suffrage. What the Democratic party meant was that only the white citizens of a State should decide who should vote. Why did they not have the honesty to say so? The white citizens of the South voted their States out of the Union, and would do so again if they could enforce their vote. Therefore white suffrage only in the Southern States is a failure. Universal suffrage in the rebel States votes those States into the Union. It is a success.

**Republican.**

Now boys, mark time!

From old Atlantic's rocky shore  
To soft Pacific's coast,  
Comes up the chorus o'er and o'er  
From Grant's unconquered host,  
Beneath the flag that waved so long  
In victory, where he led,  
Again goes forth the gallant throng  
While Grant goes at their head.

Firm! firm! steady!  
Where our chieftain towers;  
Let Seymour bear the "Stars and Bars,"  
The "Stars and Stripes" are ours.

The same old fight we fought of yore,  
When Grant our victories won;  
We fight at North and South once more,  
Till Freedom's work is done.  
For Seymour's "friends," whom once he taught  
In eighteen sixty three,  
Once more unto the ballot brought,  
To break down liberty.  
Firm! firm! steady, &c.

While Grant and Colfax lead our line,  
Let Blair and Seymour shout,  
Though rebels North and South combine,  
Their forces we will rout.  
"I cannot be your candidate,"  
Said Seymour—what he meant  
Was—what he did not stop to state:  
I can't be President!

WHAT THE LOYAL GOVERNORS OF THE SOUTHERN STATES SAY.

*From the Message of Gov. ROBERT K. SCOTT, of South Carolina.*

For the first time in the history of South Carolina, her General Assembly has convened under a Constitution that recognizes the rights of man. The monopoly of class, by which the few governed the many, has gone down before the sovereignty of the people, and her institutions have been founded on the broad basis that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Our constitution, recently ratified by the vast majority of the voters of South Carolina, guarantees to the citizen every privilege consistent with the safety of the State, and invests the State with every prerogative not inconsistent with the rights of the citizen. Sound policy and correct principle thus unite in our political system; and it will be your duty, as it will doubtless be your chief aim, so to legislate that the public laws and administration of the State shall not discredit the constitution under which you have assembled. The object of all legislation should be the greatest good to the greatest number. Equal and exact justice to all is therefore required at your hands; and I have no doubt that each and every class and locality in the State will receive their due share of public favor from your honorable bodies.

Wade Hampton, Forrest, Barksdale, Preston, Fairfax, Forsyth, Yergee, and other Rebel Democrats, are to take the stump against Grant in the Free States.

**Democratic.**

The Democratic party has done absolutely nothing toward restoring the Union. When President Johnson proposed to restore the Southern States on the basis of the white vote only, the exclusion of a few rebels from office was deemed a sufficient reason why the Democratic party should stand aloof and have nothing to do with it. The President's request that they should acknowledge the ordinance of secession to be void was denied or reluctantly and imperfectly complied with. His demand that the national debt should be held valid and the rebel debt repudiated, called forth the anathemas of the Southern Democrats.

When Congress proposed to restore the Southern States to the Union on the white vote only the Democratic party resisted the plan, because under it some rebels were excluded from voting and holding office.

Johnson's plan of reconstruction, which the rebels and Democrats had at first opposed as too severe, resulted in returning the rebels to power, and in the enactment of black codes restoring the colored race to slavery, depriving them of the right to make contracts, sue or testify in the courts, hire houses or lands, or be anything better than slaves, and it became apparent that loyal men could never rule or even live in safety in the South without the aid of the colored vote. When the oppressive effects of Johnson's reconstruction policy became manifest, and Congress having tried it and found it wanting, were prepared to adopt a better, the Democratic party for the first time became its champions. Congress put the ballot into the hands of both races at the South in order to get loyal men elected, and to protect the rights of all. The Democratic party opposed this measure, not because it would not cause the election of loyal men to office, but because in some districts the only loyal white men to be found were Northern men. Instead of miscegenation or massacre, as the Democrats predicted, universal suffrage has resulted in peace between the races in all the Southern States. Wade Hampton and other rebels are addressing negro meetings, and sitting down at public negro dinners. Democratic negro clubs are forming, and colored democratic orators are addressing audiences of white democrats. In Mississippi, several thousand negroes voted the Democratic ticket. All these facts show that the two races will ultimately and peacefully divide between the two political parties without regard to race or color. The Democratic party shows every readiness to act on terms of political equality with all negroes who will vote the Democratic ticket. This being so, universal suffrage has resulted in a harmony between the two races such as could scarcely have been attained otherwise.

**Republican.**

The Republican party has done all that has been done, not only to save the Union, but to restore it. When the Vice-President elected by its votes attempted to restore the Union by military proclamations without convening or asking the assistance of Congress, the Republican party distrusted, but for the sake of the experiment, sustained his efforts until their results could be clearly seen. When they saw that the results were to restore the rebels to power, the negroes to slavery, the Union soldiers to contempt, Northern men to fugitives, the National Government to shame and dishonor, and the whole South to anarchy, as shown by the black codes, the Ku Klux Klans, and the massacre of blacks at Memphis and New Orleans, then the people demanded that the President's reconstruction policy should be amended. Congress amended it in a manner which still proposed to readmit the Southern States on the white vote alone, provided that the white population alone should be counted in ascertaining the number of representatives each State should have in Congress. For if blacks were counted in the number entitled to be represented, and the whites cast all the votes, then whites would in effect vote for themselves and for the blacks also, and the vote of one white man in South Carolina would count equal to the votes of five loyal men; i. e., the white rebel would not only vote against the interests of the two black South Carolinians whom he represented, but his vote would count equal to three votes in New York. One rebel would thus vote down five loyal men in all. The same would be true in a less degree in the other Southern States. To equalize the value of a Northern vote with a Southern vote, either the blacks must vote or they must not be represented in Congress. On this platform the Republican party carried the elections of 1866 in all the Northern States. Connecticut re-elected the Republican Governor (Hawley) over English by 541. New Jersey went Republican by 3,360. New York elected Fenton (Rep.) over Hoffman (Dem.) by 13,789. California went Republican in 1865 by 6,967. Pennsylvania elected Geary (Rep.) over Clymer by 17,178. West Virginia (Rep.) by 6,644. Ohio (Republican) by 42,696. All the other Northern States went Republican by enormous majorities. There can be no doubt, therefore, of the popular approval of the Republican policies of all kinds in 1866. The people indorsed the doctrine that a loyal man's vote must be as good as that of a rebel, and that the Southern States must return to the Union represented by loyal men. The only practical way to secure the election of loyal men, and the erection of loyal State Governments was to give the ballot to all alike. The result, except in Louisiana and Texas, where Democratic military commanders have sought to please the rebel party, has been peace, such as the South had never before known.

"LET US HAVE PEACE."



## EFFECT OF PAYING THE BONDS IN GREENBACKS.

*Extract from the official Report for 1868, of Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury.*

It is not too much to say, that an additional issue of five hundred millions of United States notes would reduce the several hundred millions of paper money now in circulation to one-half their present value; so that a legal tender note or a National Bank note, now worth seventy per cent. in coin, would not be worth more than thirty-five per cent., even if the apprehension of further issues did not place it on a par with confederate notes at the collapse of the rebellion. The bonds would of course decline in value with the currency in which they would be payable. Can any one seriously propose thus to depreciate, if not to render valueless, the money and securities of the people? Can any one knowing the effect which such an issue would have upon the government bonds, upon the currency now afloat, upon business, upon credit, upon the public morals, seriously advocate such a measure, not as a matter of necessity but to anticipate the payment of debts due many years hence? The statement of the proposition exposes its wickedness. When fully considered it can not fail to be stamped with universal condemnation. It is a proposition that the people of the United States, who own four-fifths of the national obligations, shall by their own deliberate act, rob and ruin themselves, and at the same time cover the nation with irreparable and ineffaceable disgrace.

## WHO ARE THE "ARISTOCRATIC BOND-HOLDERS?"

Over \$500,000,000 of our National Bonds are held abroad, mainly by persons in moderate circumstances, largely by Germany, and almost wholly by European Republicans and friends of the American Government and people. The aristocrats of Europe, whether founded on birth or wealth, desired the dissolution of our Union. The Rothschilds and Barings and their beadies and tipstiffs staked their money if at all on the "Confederate States of America." Repudiation, total or partial, would therefore ruin the European friends of America and delight its enemies. In this country, very few of our leading rich men, wealthy enough to be styled aristocratic, own any bonds at all. Most of the bonds owned in this country are deposited by the National Banks to secure the redemption of the bills in which every working man is paid for his labor, and are held as investments by the Savings Banks, Marine, Fire and Life Insurance Companies, or are purchased by guardians on behalf of widows and

orphans, who are unable to take care of their own property, and have perhaps no other means of support. Our very rich men do not deposit in Savings Banks, or insure their lives or property or own bonds. The Savings Banks and Insurance companies in New York alone own \$100,000,000 of United States Bonds. The repudiation of these bonds would deprive the Savings Banks of the ability to return the money placed in their hands by depositors, and would prevent the Insurance Companies from paying the losses which would be incurred by our men of moderate means all over the State. The number of depositors in the New York Savings Banks whose hard earned savings are thus dependent on the national faith and honor, was recently returned at 488,501. Probably through both Savings Banks and Insurance Companies, one million of persons in the State of New York have their savings invested in or dependent upon the National debt, and would be robbed by repudiation total or partial. The Savings Banks in Massachusetts own \$25,000,000, and their depositors number 316,000 persons; those in Rhode Island \$15,000,000. The Insurance Companies in these States own as much more. It is safe, therefore, to estimate that \$1,000,000,000 of the National Bonds or one-half the interest-bearing portion of the national debt and two-thirds of that portion held in this country, are owned by the Savings Banks and Insurance Companies, on behalf of at least five millions of people, all belonging to the working classes. The most numerous class of them are domestics; after which follow laborers, seamstresses, clerks, tailors, waiters, cabmen, washwomen, needlewomen, &c. These are the so-called "Aristocratic Bond-holders" upon whom demagogues would bring down the losses resulting from a payment of the debt in greenbacks, and repudiation. These are the "bloated capitalists" who reap the interest which our tax-payers pay on the national debt. It will be seen that as a whole the poor tax-payers are far richer than the "bloated bond-holders." Let every person who hears the bond-holders denounced inquire of himself, "Have I money in the Bank? Have I property insured? Have I any greenbacks or bank bills about me?" If he can answer either of these questions in the affirmative, then though he dwells in an attic or a hovel, he is one of the "aristocratic bond-holders" at whom the denunciations of the Democratic party are leveled. He is one whom they would ruin.

# Suppose it Possible to Elect Seymour.

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## WHAT THEN ?

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*First.*—The Democratic party would say that SEYMOUR's election means a condemnation of GRANT for the part he (Grant) took in the War.

*Second.*—The condemnation of Grant, by the election of Seymour, means, so the Democratic party would say, that the War successfully ended by Grant was an unjust one, for no man or party could condemn a general for conducting a just war to a successful issue.

*Third.*—If the War in which Grant played so conspicuous and successful a part was an unjust one, then as a matter of course those who fought against Grant must have been in the right (both could not have been wrong), and this is just what the supporters of Seymour now say, and is what he said while the War was going on.

*Fourth.*—If the War on the part of the Government of the Union was an unjust war, then it will be claimed by the Democratic party, in case of Seymour's election, that all debts contracted for that War are UNJUST, AND OUGHT NOT TO BE PAID !

*Fifth.*—If the war on the part of the South against the Union, was a just war, then the debt contracted for it *ought to be paid !*

In brief, Seymour's election means a condemnation of the war in behalf of the Union, a repudiation of the debt contracted in conducting that war ; means a justification of Secession, a justification of armed Rebellion ; means a justification of the firing on the vessel that carried food to our troops in Charleston Harbor ; means an approval of the tearing down the Old Flag from Fort Sumpter, and its trampling in the dust !

The first proposition made officially, should Seymour be elected, to repudiate the National debt or to assume the Rebel debt, would utterly destroy the value of all public securities, State as well as National ; would ruin every Savings Bank and Insurance Company in the land ; would destroy all business, paralyze all industry, and throw every working-man out of employment.

The only way to avoid these evils is to ELECT GRANT, and thereby sustain the credit of the nation, give stability to all financial securities, uphold law, rebuke secession, and enforce respect for

THE OLD FLAG THAT OUR FATHERS GAVE US !

**"LET US HAVE PEACE."**



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